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NOTE VERBALE DATED 26 NOVEMBER 1962 FROM THE PERMANENT MISSION OF CUBA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE ACTING SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to transmit below the text of a statement by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and to ask for it to be issued and circulated as an official United Nations document:

"The National Directorate of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations and the Council of Ministers, meeting in joint session to deal with questions relating to the so-called Caribbean crisis, hereby resolve to make known to the people of Cuba and to the world the position of our Party and the Cuban Government.

"In his latest public statement, President Kennedy announced the lifting of the blockade of Cuba in return for the withdrawal by the Soviet Union of the intermediate-range ballistic missiles and IL-28 medium bombers stationed in Cuba. Nevertheless, the statements by the President of the United States contain the seeds of a provocative and aggressive policy against our country, which must be exposed.

"In one part of his speech, President Kennedy said: 'As for our part, if all offensive weapons systems are removed from Cuba and kept out of the hemisphere in the future, under adequate verification and safeguards, and if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean. And as I said in September, 'We shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere.' We will not, of course, abandon the political, economic and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from Cuba, nor our purpose and hope that the Cuban people shall some day be truly free. But these policies are very different from any attempt to launch a military invasion of the island.'

"The position of strength adopted by the United States Government is wholly contrary to the rules of international law. Over and above the outrages which it has committed against Cuba, and which brought the world to the brink of war - an

outcome avoided by means of agreements predicated upon an undertaking by the United States to abandon its aggressive and criminal policy against Cuba - it refuses even to give an assurance that it will not again violate the Charter of the United Nations and international law by invading the Republic of Cuba, on the pretext that our country has not agreed to international inspection.

"It is quite evident that Cuba has a sovereign right, based on the Charter of the United Nations, to agree or not to agree to inspection of its territory. At no time has Cuba suggested or agreed to such verification.

"The Soviet Government, for its part, complied with the verification requirement of which it spoke in its letter of 28 October, by allowing the United States to verify the withdrawal of the missiles on the high seas, and the United States agreed to this form of verification.

"President Kennedy's claim is without foundation. It is merely a pretext for not carrying out his part of the agreement and for persisting in his policy of aggression against Cuba. As if that were not enough, even if permission were given for inspection, carrying with it all the guarantees which the United States Government might see fit to demand, the peace of the Caribbean would still be subject to the condition that 'Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive communist purposes'.

"This is the same as saying that any effort by the peoples of Latin America to free themselves from the imperialist yoke might serve as a pretext for the United States Government to accuse Cuba, break the peace and attack our country. Flimsy guarantees would be difficult to imagine.

"To all this must be added the further fact indicative of the war-mongering and domineering policy of the United States Government. In his latest statement, President Kennedy tacitly reasserted the right - already claimed on several other occasions - for spy planes to fly over the territory of Cuba and photograph it from one end to the other. This too is a gross violation of international law.

"Respect for international law is an essential condition if the nations of the earth are to live together regardless of their social or economic systems.

"The only effective way to guarantee that the rule of law will be maintained in international affairs and that the provisions of the law will be complied with is for all nations to respect the established rules. At this time of acute rivalry between two conceptions of society, the United States has arrogated to itself the right to break the existing international rules and to make new rules as it pleases.

"It is our view that when such a dangerous situation is reached, when one country decides, by and for itself, how the law is to be applied in its relations with other countries, there is no choice but firmly to resist its claims.

"The United States is trying to dictate what kind of arms we should or should not have. The United States rulers who oblige us to expend vast resources in order to defend ourselves against the aggression to which we have been subjected during the four years of our Revolution's progress also claim to be the judges of what limit should be placed on the armaments with which we defend our freedom.

"It was the United States Government which, by its repeated and overt attacks on our country, made it necessary for the Cuban people to arm themselves. It was President Kennedy himself who ordered an army of mercenaries to land at Playa Girón. It was under his Administration that thousands upon thousands of United States weapons were dropped by parachute or landed on our shores with the aim of encouraging and organizing bands of counter-revolutionaries, who committed the worst possible crimes against teachers, mass literacy personnel, peasants and workers.

"The Governments of the United States - the previous one and the present one - not only adopted criminal economic measures against Cuba, which confronted our people with severe problems; in addition their acts of military aggression forced us to devote great energy and great resources to the defence of our integrity. What would have become of our country and its Revolution if our people had not offered stubborn and heroic resistance to the actions of that powerful and aggressive country? The United States is guilty of a policy of economic strangulation and of violence against Cuba, a policy which has led to the Caribbean crisis with all its consequences and dangers."

"Furthermore, the United States violated the principle of freedom of the seas by establishing the blockade of Cuba; it violated the Charter of the United Nations by announcing the adoption of unilateral measures against our country; and it now takes refuge in the OAS, seeking official sanction for its acts of piracy in the air. The OAS has no jurisdiction whatsoever on our soil; its decisions have no validity for us; to cite them is arbitrary - pure sophistry on the part of the imperialist aggressor.

"The United States Government has reiterated its interventionist intentions. It has stated that it will in no circumstances abandon its political, economic 'and other' acts of aggression. What is meant by 'other efforts' against Cuba? Internal subversion, sabotage, acts of terrorism, pirate raids, infiltration by CIA agents, the landing and dropping of weapons in our territory, invasions by mercenaries - in fact everything which, in Pentagon jargon, is termed 'paramilitary warfare'.

"If that is how matters stand, Cuba will have to defend itself by every available means. It reserves the right to acquire weapons of all kinds for its defence and will take such steps as it deems appropriate to strengthen its security in the face of this open threat. After examining President Kennedy's statement, then, it is possible to affirm that armed conflict has been averted but not that peace has been achieved. For our people there has been no peace, but incessant attacks. Many of their sons have died as a result of armed attacks, sabotage, murder, subversive acts and raids by pirate aircraft and ships instigated by the United States Government. President Kennedy's statement offers, not peace, but the continuation of such acts.

"We therefore reiterate the five points which are essential to a genuine and final settlement of the crisis. First: cessation of the economic blockade and of all measures of commercial and economic pressure exercised against our country by the United States in every part of the world.

"Second: the cessation of all subversive activities, of the dropping of weapons and explosives from the air and their landing from the sea, of the mounting of invasions by mercenaries, of infiltration by spies and saboteurs, all of which are being carried out from the territory of the United States and a few countries which are its accomplices.

"Third: cessation of the pirate raids which are carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.

"Fourth: the cessation of all violations of our air space and territorial waters by United States aircraft and warships.

"Fifth: withdrawal from Guantánamo naval base and the restoration of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States.

"These are no irrational demands; they do not conflict with the rights of anyone; they are claims so legitimate, and so clearly limited to the rights of the Cuban people, that no-one can object to them.

"The United States Government demands that the United Nations should verify in our territory the withdrawal of strategic weapons. Cuba demands that the United Nations should verify in the territory of the United States, in Puerto Rico and in other places where attacks on Cuba are in preparation, the dismantling of the training camps for mercenaries, spies, saboteurs and terrorists; of the centres where subversion is prepared; and of the bases from which pirate vessels set out for our coasts.

"In addition Cuba demands, as one of the required guarantees, that effective measures of control should be established to prevent any repetition of such acts in the future.

"If the United States and its accomplices in aggression against Cuba do not agree to such inspection in their territories by the United Nations, Cuba will in no circumstances agree to inspection in its own territory.

"Reciprocal concessions and guarantees will afford the only means of reaching a broad and fitting agreement acceptable to all.

"If such an agreement is reached, Cuba will need no strategic weapons for its defence; the staff of foreign military technicians engaged to instruct our armed forces would be reduced to the minimum and the necessary conditions would be created for the normal development of our relations with the countries of this hemisphere.

"A just and satisfactory settlement of this crisis would without doubt help towards solving the other problems awaiting solution throughout the world; it would be a firm step on the true road to peace. And the world needs peace.

"It is a legitimate aspiration of mankind that the enormous sums now being invested in the manufacture of costly and deadly armaments should be spent on making goods of use to man, especially for the benefit of the under-developed peoples whom the colonizing and imperialist countries have left immersed in the direst poverty.

"War industry and the arms traffic can interest only the monopolists whose business it is to stifle the most lawful aspirations of the peoples and to fatten, like birds of prey, on destruction and death.

"As Marxist-Leninists, we defend peace by conviction and on principle. Weapons are to us a heavy burden imposed by the imperialists, which divert energy and resources from the creative tasks of the Revolution.

"Our mission is to defend peace as the supreme aspiration of mankind. We believe in the possibility of averting war and we do not believe that war is a fatal and inexorable necessity. But this does not mean that the imperialists are entitled to be pirates, to be aggressors, or to commit acts of genocide against any people.

"The imperialists must not confuse a position on principle with weakness in the face of their acts of aggression. It must be made quite clear to them that they are in no position today to impose their law on the world and that they will not be permitted to do so.

"Cuba stresses once again that there is no better way than that of peace and discussion between Governments, but at the same time we repeat that we shall never falter before the imperialists. To their positions of strength we shall oppose our firmness; to the intent to humiliate us, our dignity; to aggression, the resolve to fight to the last man.

"We do not believe in mere promises of non-aggression; we need deeds. These deeds are set forth in our five points.

"We have as little faith in President Kennedy's words as we feel fear at his veiled threats.

"**FATHERLAND OR DEATH! WE SHALL CONQUER!**

"Havana, 25 November 1962.

"(Signed) Osvaldo Dorticos
President of the Republic

"Fidel Castro
Prime Minister and Secretary-General
of the Integrated Revolutionary
Organizations."

The Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations takes this opportunity to reiterate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the assurance of its highest consideration.

New York, 26 November 1962.